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ABSTRACT

New York State is a good example of a diversified economy for a diversified population. Minority middle classes can be found in many places in the state, which has relied heavily on education as a policy tool to increase its human potential resources. Just as the middle of the income scale has been declining nationally, so New York's education system--by having such a high number of high school dropouts and an excellent record of access to higher education--may be inadvertently contributing to an increase in the low end and a corresponding increase in the high end of the income levels in the state. There is much stability in New York as the divorce and crime rates are actually quite low, but this stability could be threatened if New York becomes a state for the rich and the poor. The parts of the state's educational system do not mesh as well as they might. New Yorkers are used to receiving quality services for their higher taxes, and it may be time to look strategically at how the investment in education could yield a greater return. Weak points include retention levels to high school graduation and early childhood education. (15 references) (KM)

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NEW YORK:

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THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

NEW YORK-NEWARK-JERSEY CITY (PART)

EA 021 762

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The report brings together a wide variety of materials having to do with New York. This integration could not have been accomplished without a computer program called Super-File, which has been a joy to use. The author's gratitude goes to FYI, Inc. and the geniuses who made it possible.

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Errors of fact and interpretation, however, remain the responsibility of the author.

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Cover Note:
This map of New York reveals populations as a road map reveals highways. New York is very urban, with 90% of its population living in its 12 metro areas. You can see the three "New Yorks:" 1) The City; 2) Upstate (Buffalo to Albany) and; 3) Everything Else. In thinking about the state's future, these areas are the social equivalents of mountains, rivers and roads. "People Maps" like this one are becoming increasingly important tools for politicians, marketers of products and services, and even educators."

Cover and Graphics Design: Tony Browder, East Koast Graphics, Inc.

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NEW YORK:
THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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NEW YORK: THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

No state has worked harder on its educational system over the years than New York. When de Toqueville came to America in the 1830's, two of his first stops were New York City and Albany (the legislature being referred to as the "Cave of Winds"). Prison reform was his topic, and in New York he saw prisoners being readied for re-entry into normal life *through educational programs*. He came away feeling that New Yorkers (and the U.S., but to a lesser degree) had an almost pathological faith that education could change anything and everything. It was *the* tool for forging the new America. With wildly diverse groups of immigrants, education provided both a common framework and a set of aspirations for individuals. Entrepreneurship was the name of the game in New York, then as now. Toqueville's most trenchant observation was that in America, the smartest people did not go into either government or the professions, but into the making of money, especially in New York.

Some things never change. In 1987, New York City remains the haven for those smart people who intend to make money. These are not salaried people but entrepreneurs who live by their wits and commissions. Since Toqueville, law and money have come together in a new relationship. The largest "export" of dollars out of New York City is for *legal services*. The Eastern shuttle carries hundreds of lawyers and financiers daily who live in Washington, D.C. but *must* be a part of the New York establishment. The high end of the service economy is "bicoastal," with financial, legal and entertainment people flitting from Los Angeles to New York. Broadway remains the theatre center. Publishing firms, alive and well after their best year in history in 1986, are heavily concentrated in New York and in the East, which is where most book purchasers live.

And in the *educational* arena, New York has produced some memorable achievements as well (with one exception, which we will get to later). For more than three decades, the Board of Cooperative Education Services (BOCES) has served as a model for the rest of the country in terms of intermediate service delivery. The idea is spreading rapidly at present. The state testing program (Regents Exams and PEP Tests) has maintained standards through thick and thin, and has provided a common denomination for assessing individual and district performance.

New York maintains the largest state financial program for higher education, including the very successful TAP Program. The Regents External Degree Program represents a national model for assessing people on a performance, as opposed to "seat-time" standard. It has transformed the lives of people in New York State and out. The articulation of secondary schools and colleges in terms of requirements has been exceptionally well coordinated. The diversity of public and independent educational institutions has been seen as a strength rather than a threat. And the Regents themselves have basically functioned to put educational priorities uppermost, and political considerations secondary. (This seems a matter of debate at the moment within the state.)

The futurists gave New York State short shrift due mainly to the outmigration of 4% during some of the 1970's. But they totally misread the state's resiliency and the strength of its economy. In the beginning of 1987, we can see a new historical phenomenon of major dimensions—a reversal of the decades-old migration to the South and West. Texas has attracted people from the Midwest, Northeast and Southeast, and has "thrown" people west to California since the 1940's. Today, however, the migration to Colorado and Arizona from Texas has stopped—these states are sending more people to Texas than Texas is sending to them. And migration to California from Texas has slowed to a crawl.

More people are moving from Texas to the East—Florida, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina and Virginia—than are moving *to* Texas from those states. In 1986, more people moved from Texas to *Michigan* than moved from Michigan to Texas! And Florida, long the loser in migration to California and Texas, is in 1987 the net winner, with more people moving to Florida from Texas and California than are going the other way. What *may* be developing is a circular pattern of movement—to California from the Northeast and Midwest, then back up the Atlantic coast. (There never *was* a Sunbelt, there was California, Texas, Arizona and Florida, and that's it.)

New York has always contributed to the migration to Florida and to California, but not to Texas. (Texas has sent few people to New York also—perhaps Texans feel

silly on subways, and New Yorkers feel odd in cowboy hats.) But we are now seeing a small but historic shift of people *back* into New York from the Southeast and Southwest, as well as from other northeastern states. Massachusetts follows the same flow. Apparently New York is *increasing* in its appeal to migrants from a variety of regions, particularly as the economies of many southwestern and southeastern states falter. Enrollment in New York elementary schools has begun to move up slightly. To begin our analysis of New York in detail, let's look at the state's characteristics:

NEW YORK PROFILE

1980 POPULATION	2nd	17,588,072
BLACK POPULATION	1st	2,402,406
PERCENT BLACK	14th	13.7%
HISPANIC POPULATION	3rd	1,659,300
PERCENT HISPANIC	6th	9.5%
ASIAN, PACIFIC ISLANDS	*	310,526
[illegible]	*	1.8%
[illegible]	*	884,672
[illegible]	*	5.0%
[illegible]	3rd	13.6%
[illegible]	5th	31.8 years
OVER 65	14th	12.3%
UNDER 18	45th	26.7%
COLLEGE GRADUATES	14th	17.9%
MARRIED COUPLE HOUSEHOLDS	50th	54%
OWNER OCCUPIED HOUSING	50th	48.6%
PER CAPITA INCOME	14th	$7,500
RETENTION TO HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION	45th	66%

*Data not available

From these numbers we can see New York's outlines—a very large state with great diversity of population, 90% of whom live in one of the state's 12 metropolitan areas. Minority populations are very large (30% of the state's population), but because of the state's overall size, no one minority group has the clout its numbers would suggest. (With 2,400,000 black persons, the largest in the nation, New York is only 13.7% black, due to the large size of the state's total population. Hispanics are the same—1,659,000 people, but only 9.5% of the state's total.) But overall, New York is a state with 5,256,504 minority members of its 17 million person total, almost a third of its people.

Unlike California, Florida, Texas and Arizona, whose minority populations have increased dramatically in the last decade, New York has had a long history of significant minority participation, being the major staging area for each previous wave of immigration to the U.S. In fact, New York City is still working on the immigration wave of the 1920's—Poles, Italians, Czechs, Ukrainians—while it is heavily involved in the 1980's wave, 83% of which comes from South America and Asia. The Statue of Liberty faces Europe, of course, which is why Los Angeles Mayor Bradley plans to develop a California version of the Statue of Liberty which will, presumably, face Asia and South America.

Our cover map of the State provides another insight—there are three parts of New York: The City (even in Paris, New Yorkers will say "I have to go the The City," meaning New York), Upstate (all the cities from Buffalo to Albany), and Everything Else. Long Island is increasingly considered a part of The City, even as it develops its own powerful economy, and more commuters live *and* work on The Island.

The average age of people in New York is very high, not because of the large numbers of elderly (only about 12%) but because of the major decrease in youth. Although the numbers are small, people over 85 gained 44% from 1970 to 1980, while youth under 15 declined 24%, both because of decreased fertility and outmigration of young adults in the childbearing years. Being short on the young and old, New York is naturally strong in middle-aged Baby Boomers, just moving into their peak earning years. Of the Baby Boomers, my guess is that New York and California tie in having the largest number and percentage of "Yuppies," although New York City can claim the area with the largest number of "Buppies"—black urban professionals—which is clearly Nassau-Suffolk. Nationally, about 25–30% of the 70 million Baby Boomers can be termed Yuppies. They tend to live alone (New York State is 50th in married couple households) and, hopefully for this reason, tend not to have children.

For a big, diverse state, New York is 11th in per capita income ($10,260 in 1980), a major achievement. About 18% of the citizens are college graduates, well over the national average, although an equally high number of adults do not have a high school diploma. The state is second in the number of patents awarded to residents, and is a major center of high technology as well as the high-end service industries, as we shall see. There is only one major "downer" in all these numbers—New York ranks 45th in the percentage of ninth graders in 1980 who graduated from high school in 1984—66%, compared to a national average of 74%, and a high in Minnesota of 96%. We shall explore this issue in depth shortly.

We can learn much by looking at the patterns of movement into and out of the state:

NEW YORK POPULATION MOVEMENT: 1975–1980

	ALL	WHITE	BLACK	HISPANIC
IN:	1,072,612	753,971	137,832	167,513
OUT:	1,721,275	1,444,000	186,877	133,061
NET:	– 648,663	– 690,029	– 49,045	+ 34,452

The "velocity" with which whites left the state was great—twice as many left as arrived. The leaving rate was less for blacks. However, the "net" shows a total loss of 749,074 whites and blacks, but a *plus* of 34,452 Hispanics! Just as two cars approaching each other from opposite directions at 50 miles an hour will pass one another with a "net" of 100 m.p.h., the loss of whites and blacks has heightened the Hispanic increase enormously. The same phenomenon can be seen with Asian-American increases in New York. Some will say that this only applies to downtown New York City, but it applies equally to the pinnacle of success, Westchester County:

WESTCHESTER COUNTY MIGRATION: 1975–1980

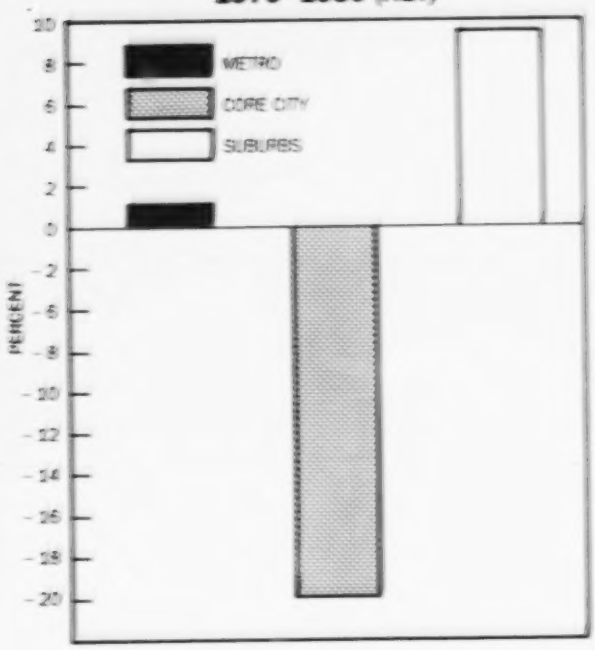
	ALL	WHITE	BLACK	HISPANIC
IN:	140,882	111,004	16,925	12,685
OUT:	156,014	138,733	13,484	7,137
NET:	– 15,192	– 27,729	+ 3,441	+ 5,549

While Westchester was losing 27,729 whites, it was gaining 8,989 minority residents. In fact, all of New York's metro areas have been characterized by declining core cities and expanding suburban populations, even though the state's total declined 4%. Minorities have generally played a part in the suburban migration in New York, which helps to explain why minorities move to New York and stay, while whites tend to leave more than they move in. (The next few years clearly will see an increase in people of all ethnic backgrounds moving to New York, as its economy continues to offer opportunities.) Rochester has been typical of most metro areas in New York:

ROCHESTER URBAN DEVELOPMENT: 1970–1980

	1980	1970	NET
METRO:	971,230	961,516	+ 1%
CORE CITY:	241,741	295,011	– 18%
SUBURBS:	729,489	666,505	+ 9.4%

ROCHESTER URBAN DEVELOPMENT 1970–1980 (NET)



The "middle" of the economic distribution has moved out of the core city in every metro area in New York. More importantly, the new suburban centers need to be seen, not as "bedrooms" for the 12 metros, but as places where people live *and* work, due to the rapid growth of the service economy. Already, in places like Buffalo, Rochester, Albany, Syracuse, as well as "The City," going downtown is becoming a special event, as people live their lives in the suburban growth corridors. Cities could afford to allow bedroom suburbs, as long as people came downtown to work, allowing a taxable revenue base. But if homes *and* jobs leave the core cities, their economies are in trouble. Even the current revitalization of many core cities—Baltimore, Boston and Washington, D.C. leap to mind—pales when contrasted to the growth in suburban growth corridors for those areas. The major reason New York State has been virtually "recession-proof" has been its very diversified economy. In the following chart, the first column indicates the percentage of the total New York work force in that area; the second indicates the economic output of that area compared to the rest of the nation, the average index being 100.

NEW YORK: WORK FORCE AND INDUSTRIES

	% OF WORKERS	INDEX
AGRICULTURE, FORESTS, FISH, MINING	1.3	33
CONSTRUCTION	3.7	63
MANUFACTURING	20.9	93
TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS	8.2	112
RETAIL, WHOLESALE TRADES	19.3	95
FINANCE, INSURANCE, REAL ESTATE	8.3	138
BUSINESS, REPAIR, PERSONAL SERVICE	9.4	112
PROFESSIONAL SERVICES	23.6	116
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	5.2	100

If one assumes that agriculture, mining and manufacturing are areas of great difficulty in the American economy, and if one also assumes that the "high end" of the service industry is in very good shape, especially financial and technical services, then New York State has the healthiest work profile in the nation. (California, its major competitor, has a greater dependency on its $14 billion agricultural economy, which is buoyed up by its $28 billion in defense contracts. It is decidedly weaker in professional services. California's "high tech" industries will have tough going in the next decade, as the policy of jobless growth makes itself felt.)

This emphatically does not mean that New York is free from economic blemish, but if *diversification* is the name of the state economic game, then New York has a commendable number of arrows in its quiver. Even in "high tech," which is very hard to define, New York has, like Massachusetts, concentrated on R and D and services rather than high tech manufacturing, which will be a soft spot in the future. As long as companies like IBM, Bell Labs and GE like New York, not to mention the arts, the stock market, doctors and most of the major law firms, the state should continue to do well.

There are a few other statistical "odds and ends" we should consider before turning to the state's educational system. First of all, to establish New York City as the "hub of hubs," we only have to look at the top eight airline connections in terms of frequency of flights for December 1980 (see chart opposite).

These data make even clearer the central fact of American demography—80% of the American people live in the Eastern or Central time zones (see chart on next page). For these people, New York City is, in most respects, the most important city. Although most of us think of New York State as a transient population, only 31% of its population was born in another state, compared with 78% in Nevada. It is closer to Pennsylvania (only 19% of its citizens were born outside the state) than Nevada. There is a stability about New York, particularly "upstate," which contributes to social cohesion.

FREQUENCY OF FLIGHTS
December, 1980

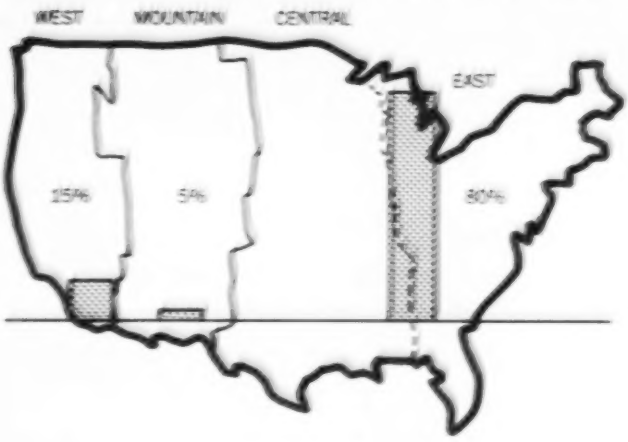
Dallas–Houston	3,462
Los Angeles–San Francisco	3,069
Chicago–New York	2,534
New York–Washington	2,037
Atlanta–New York	2,029
Boston–New York	1,842
Miami–New York	1,767
Ft. Lauderdale–New York	1,381

NEW YORK STATE SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS:
1970–1982

	1970	1982	NET	U.S.
TOTAL STUDENTS	3,477,000	2,719,000	– 21.8%	– 13.9%
GRADES 9–12	1,029,000	957,000	– 7%	– 6.2%
GRADES K–8	2,448,000	1,761,000	– 28.1%	– 16.7%

	1984–85	1985–86
TOTAL STUDENTS	2,631,059	2,608,500
GRADES 9–12	1,325,675	1,280,900
GRADES K–8	1,305,384	1,327,600

PERCENTAGE OF RESIDENCE BY TIME ZONE



Transiency relates to criminality, as can be seen in Nevada's rating of #1 in murders per 100,000 people with 20. No one else even comes close. (New York State is 10th with a rate of 12 per 100,000.) Even with Hill Street Blues and its view of New York, The City is actually 12th in murder with a rate of 25.8 per 100,000. Although The City has the largest police force (22,500) if one thinks of police per 10,000 people, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and many others have more. (The murder capital of the U.S. is *actually* St. Louis, with a rate of 89.9 murders per 100,000. East St. Louis contributes heavily to this number.) New York, City and State, *do* lead the nation in one kind of crime—robbery: 641 per 100,000 in N.Y. State and a heavy 1429 in The City. (To be fair, with that much per capita wealth, almost anybody in New York City is *worth* robbing. Criminals are not stupid.)

Somewhat surprising is the State's remarkably low divorce rate—384 divorces for every 1,000 marriages. The U.S. average is 490, and leading the pack is Arkansas, with 954 divorces for every 1,000 marriages. And although the stability is nice, New York State ranked 43rd in the percentage of eligible voters who voted in the last presidential election, right with Pennsylvania and California. Being 4th in the percent of state revenues derived from personal income taxes, New Yorkers pay heavily for services, but the quality is generally well above average. (Try getting snowed in in New York and in Ohio, and compare how long it takes for the roads to be plowed.)

There is one area, however, in which New York reigns supreme, and that is abortions. For every 1,000 live births

NEW YORK SCHOOL PROFILE

	1973–74	1985–86
PERCENT OF NINTH GRADERS GRADUATING FROM HIGH SCHOOL	*	66%
PER PUPIL EXPENDITURES	$1,829	$5,616
TEACHERS SALARIES	$14,700	$30,200
FUNDING—FEDERAL	5.4%	3.6%
FUNDING—STATE	38.9%	43.9%
FUNDING—LOCAL	55.8%	52.5%

CHILDREN (5–17) IN POVERTY	17.9%	(1980)
CHILDREN IN HANDICAPPED PROGRAMS	10.9%	(1982)
CHILDREN IN GIFTED PROGRAMS	3.5%	(1982)

*Data Not Available

in the state, 666 abortions are performed. With that high an abortion rate, it is no surprise that the State's *birth* rate is so low. In Mississippi, there are 96 abortions per 1,000 live births. If the ethics of abortion can be put aside temporarily, the *demographics* would suggest that in Mississippi, a large number of children will be born into poverty, without the resources to ensure their maximal development. Those same children in New York would not be born. There are many social policy consequences of this major difference between Mississippi and New York, both in terms of economic and human development.

To summarize, New York is a very large, ethnically diverse state with a considerable amount of social stability. Its population is old, due not to large numbers of elderly but largely to the comparatively small number of children born. It is a middle-age state, whose economy has the virtues of deversification and flexibility, particularly in the high end of the service economy. Black, Hispanic and Asian-American middle classes are found in New York, increasingly living in the suburban growth corridors of the state. Citizens have come to expect a high level of quality in the social services they have paid income taxes for, particularly in terms of educational services, an area the state has been dedicated to for most of its history. In one recent study of "level of effort" in raising revenues, New York was first with an index of 171. (The U.S. Average was 100.) Let's now look at that educational system, starting with the school systems and then discussing higher education.

NEW YORK STATE'S SCHOOLS:

During the period 1970–1980, New York State's total population declined 4%, from 18.2 million to 17.5 million. The public schools declined 21.8% from 1970 to 1982.

The school-age population declined in New York far more than the population as a whole, an more than the average for U.S. schools. In addition, the younger the children, the steeper the decline, at least until 1985–86, when early elementary enrollments showed some increases. This means that the much smaller populations will be working their way through the state's schools into the high schools, which should see declining enrollments for another decade, and then begin a small turnaround. The rest of the country had seen small enrollment increases in early elementary before 1985–86 while New York was still declining.

New York schools are now 36% minority, up from 25% in 1970, a rather gradual increase. However, the 19% black school population is more stable than the 14% Hispanic and 3% Asian-American population, both of which are increasing. The declines have been in the white school population, which is why the *percentage* of minority students will continue to increase, but much more slowly than in California, Arizona, Texas and Florida. Some other factors regarding New York schools are found on the previous page.

Looking at this data *in toto*, New York clearly spends tons of money on schools and teachers, has been able to maintain local control of funding even though state funding has increased, cares about special groups of young people like handicapped and gifted students, and works hard on getting poor and minority children to achieve at a high level. The only mystery in all of this is *the surprisingly large number of youth who do not complete high school*. Let's pursue two hypotheses about this crucial issue:

1. New York is just like all other big urban states with big centers of poverty in core cities: there is a certain amount of truth to this statement, particularly if we look at the "leaders" in the retention race (percent of ninth graders in 1980 who graduated "on time" in 1984). Please see chart opposite.

Our thesis holds for the "top thirteen," and then goes into reverse. With New York in 46th place, how is it that Pennsylvania comes in 14th and Ohio 16th? Both are highly urbanized, both have established poverty areas within their big metros, and yet both do amazingly better than New York (264,763 ninth graders with 174,762 graduates for 66%, a little below California (69%), Texas (69%) and Florida (67%). 90,000 ninth graders in New York did not graduate "on time."

We need to admit that retention studies are not an exact science, but like EPA mileage ratings, the *ranks* are generally correct even though you may never get the exact mileage indicated for your type of car. The above numbers come from the Department of Education, and, although there is no single uniform procedure for calculating 9th to 12th grade rentention (the problem is more complex than it at first appears), retention numbers from various sources are quite similar. We, therefore, cannot buy the "all big states are at the bottom of the retention hierarchy" argument.

2. New York City is so big, and represents so many challenges, its low retention rate causes the norms for the whole State to be depressed: on the surface, this argument seems plausible. However, Ohio and Pennsylvania also

SELECTED RETENTION RATES

	1980 ninth grade	1984 twelfth	percent graduates
1. Minnesota	57,701	55,376	96%
2. North Dakota	9,549	8,569	89.7%
3. Iowa	42,372	37,248	87.9%
4. South Dakota	9,862	8,638	87.6%
5. Nebraska	21,626	18,674	86.3%
6. Utah	22,846	19,606	85.8%
7. Montana	12,051	10,224	84.8%
8. Wisconsin	73,603	62,189	84.5%
9. Kansas	31,755	26,730	84.2%
10. Hawaii	12,514	10,454	83.5%
11. Alaska	6,639	5,457	82.4%
12. Vermont	7,392	6,002	81.2%
13. Wyoming	7,121	5,764	80.9%
14. Pennsylvania	163,976	132,412	80.8%
15. Colorado	40,937	32,954	80.5%
16. Ohio	158,882	127,837	80.5%

have large metro areas with much ethnic diversity and very well established poverty centers. Although New York City with its 9 million people in the metro area represents more than half of the state's 15 million people, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh represent about the same urban domination for Pennsylvania. (7 million of the state's 12 million total) although the state does much better on retention. The best study available on retention in New York City, *Dropouts from New York City Public Schools, 1982–83*, done by the Educational Management Information Unit and published in 1984, shows that New York City graduates about 60% of its ninth graders "on time." (This study also represents the kind of careful, thorough approach other states might use.) About 90,000 young people begin adult life in New York State each year without a high school diploma, but only 28,000 of these are from New York City Public Schools.

The answer to our question—why do Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois and Michigan do so much better on retention than California, New York, Florida and Texas?—remains elusive. It is *not* a result of statistical game-playing, and it is a crucial question for the states that are low on this "productivity" measure, both in terms of human and economic development.

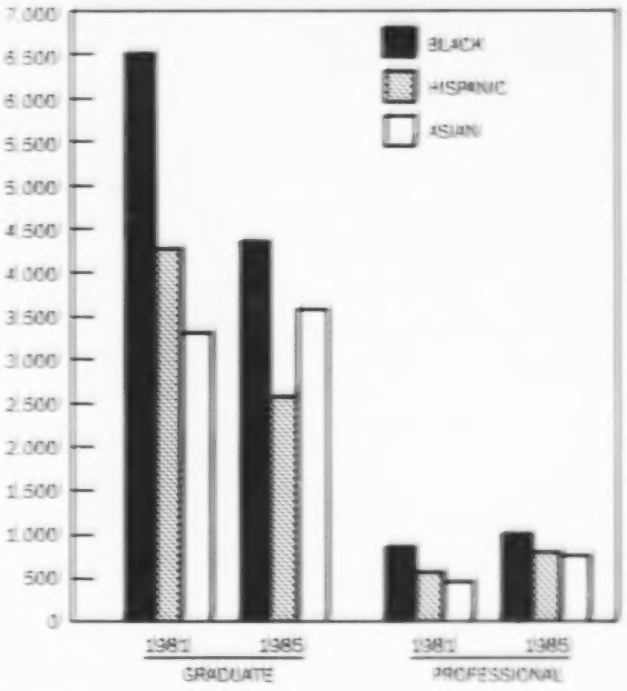
It costs at the least about $48,000 in 1986 dollars to get someone from grade one to high school graduation. In New York State, 34% of youth will be unlikely to generate enough income (without a diploma) to pay local and state authorities back, through taxable income, for the cost of their public school education. Given New York's outstanding record on commitment to and investment in education at all levels, the question needs to be considered very carefully. The fact is that in 1980, 80% of the 16–24 years olds committed to the State's correctional facilities were high school dropouts. Prisoners are about 8 times as expensive as college students, as an investment of public funds. So far, citizens have supported the schools fully, but in 1960, 59% of the voters had a child in school, while today it is about 21%. Somehow, the return on the huge New York investment in the schools needs to be increased. No easy solutions come to mind, as the state has done virtually all the right things.

NEW YORK STATE HIGHER EDUCATION

Once a student graduates from high school, the chances for college-going are very good indeed, compared with other states. (Pennsylvania, very good at getting people through high school, is not as good at "converting" them to college student status.) Only 18% of New York high school graduates go outside of the state for college, a very low rate for an Eastern state (New Jersey hovers around 40%). This low rate is a tribute to the perceived quality of New York higher education, and to an exceptional state student loan program for both public and independent higher education.

New York has more institutions of higher education than any other state, depending on how you count them: in 1983 there were 296 institutions of higher education, 86 public, and 210 independent ones, including proprietary control, etc. Independent educational institutions are very important in New York. Among secondary school graduates in New York, about 32,000 are from independent schools; about 198,500 from public schools. In higher education, about 83,000 bachelors degrees are conferred each year, about 30,000 from independent institutions (18,000 from Catholic institutions alone) and 50,000 from public institutions. For all students at all higher education levels, there were 572,000 students in public institutions and 442,000 in independent ones. In terms of enrollment, independent higher education is a bigger "cut" of the pie than independent *schools* are. They represent a very broad

NEW YORK GRADUATE ENROLLMENT BY ETHNICITY



NEW YORK GRADUATE ENROLLMENTS BY ETHNICITY

	Graduate		
	1980–81	1984–85	Percent
Black	6,551	4,312	(–34%)
Hispanic	4,252	2,550	(–40%)
Asian	3,266	3,542	(+7%)
	Professional		
	1980–81	1984–85	Percent
Black	846	996	(+17%)
Hispanic	565	769	(+36%)
Asian	477	757	(+58%)

range of programs and clienteles. In addition, the state's total facilities for the continuing education of adults in business, industry, the military, and through the state's own educational resources are unequalled.

Student ethnicity presents a mixed picture in New York. In two-year institutions black students gained from 29,200 in 1980 to 37,700 in 1984, Hispanics increased from 16,600 to 22,400, and Asians doubled from 2,700 to 4,800. However, in four-year programs, blacks declined from 68,100 in 1980 to 64,100 in 1984, Hispanics from 32,700 to 33,400, and Asians up from 15,000 to 20,100. Compared to the nation, New York showed significant gains except for black students in four-year programs, and the black decline was much smaller than in the nation.

Once again, it is clear that Asian students "level up" by going to the *highest* level of institution they are admitted to, unlike black and Hispanic students. During these years, Asian students in Pennsylvania and New Jersey were increasing *2%* in two-year institutions and *58%* in four-year programs. One wonders why a drop in Asian students in New York with major increases in surrounding states. Overall, the New York data supports a national trend of a major drop in minority enrollments in higher education during the 80's, but the drop is sharper in New York than in the nation. This should be a particular concern in a state that has done so much to provide opportunities for higher education for all.

At the graduate and professional school level, some similar surprises can be found (see chart and graph on previous page).

Based on these numbers, it would seem that the future of the New York professoriat will be almost entirely white and Asian-American, as that is what is going through the graduate school route in almost all states. Given the American Council on Education's "box score" on efforts used by states to attract more minorities into higher education, New York ranks well below California in the variety of efforts used. It may be time for the state to rethink the role of higher education in maintaining the large middle class membership of virtually all ethnic groups.

Nevertheless, when one looks at the comprehensiveness of the New York State system of higher education, from SUNY and the University of the State of New York to the Regents Degree Programs, CUNY, the state's community colleges and technical programs, there is no doubt that the *resources* are present. The real question may be—why aren't more minorities making use of them?

As the state reviews its entire educational investment "portfolio," from kindergarten to graduate school, there will need to be a serious effort to target resources to gain maximum improvement in the entire system. It seems obvious to this observer that increasing the ability of the state to retain a far higher percent of its youth through the high school diploma would be a compelling case, even in terms of financial return on the investment.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In general, New York State is a good example of a diversified economy for a diversified population, and the future of the New York economy, being heavy in the high end of the rapidly evolving service economy, looks optimistic. Minority middle classes can be found in many places in the state, which has relied heavily on education as a policy tool to increase the potential of its human resources. Just as the "middle" of the income scale has been declining nationally, so the educational system, by having such a high number of high school dropouts and an excellent record of access to higher education, may be inadvertently contributing to an increase in the low end and a corresponding increase in the high end of the income levels in the state—clearly not in the state's long term interests. (New York City is already known as a place where rich and poor people live, and other parts of the state could go in the same direction.)

Minority populations are an increasing percentage of the state's youth, as Anglo populations continue to decline, due to low birth rates and outmigration. Total school enrollments have dropped from 3.5 million in 1970 to 2.6 million in 1985–86, and most of this drop has been Anglo. There are three New Yorks: (1) The City (very diverse in every way); (2) Upstate (not as diverse as The City, but basically very urban); and (3) Everything Else (mostly upstate small town and rural populations). There is much stability in New York—divorce and crime rates are quite low—but this stability could be threatened if the State begins to become a state for the rich and the poor. The following recommendations may be useful in thinking about the state's future:

1. A major effort needs to be made to improve retention to high school graduation. Unlike California, which is afflicted with some of the largest classes in this nation, the population decline in New York has kept class sizes small, and class size is a critical factor in increasing retention. Other social services and organizations that work with youth need to be made a part of the team. There is no doubt that New York *could* have the same high retention rate as Minnesota (remember that in 1900 only *10%* of youth graduated from high school and that was considered "normal"), but New York's diversity makes the challenge much more complex. Leadership from the Governor and Legislature on this issue would be a welcome beginning.

2. An increased number of youth in the State will be poor, will not speak English, and will have physical and emotional handicaps. This means that the State will have to exert more effort just to stay in place in terms of its public schools. Unlike many other states, New York did not have to engage in a crash program to raise standards for a high school diploma. Those states can anticipate a big drop in retention rates. New York has consistently maintained academic standards, and in this case, should see no decline in retention for that reason. However, more challenging children will be coming into the system in the years to come, and that could lower retention rates if concerted action is delayed.

3. Access to college continues to run at a high level in New York, but seems mixed for minorities—gains in most cases, however, not for blacks in four-year programs. New York looks good *nationally*, however, on minority access. At the upper reaches of the system, in graduate and professional schools, only Asian-Americans are showing significant gains. The number of minorities who transfer into four year programs from community colleges is not improving, even though this factor has been a key strategy in open access. Community colleges like LaGuardia have made major efforts in this area, and when minorities *do* transfer to four year programs they do well. But not enough of them are making the change. New York's universities and colleges need to see this issue as vital to their own self-interest (more students in an era of youth decline) as well as the State's.

4. The fastest growing part of New York's population is people *over 85*. The state is very heavy in people aged 24–40—the Baby Boomer group, of whom more than 20% can be called "Yuppies." Because there are so few youth, there is a real conflict possible between the forces of young and old, with Yuppies asked to decide who should get the limited resources. Baby Boomers have not, since their 18th birthday, been known for their social concerns. If this conflict were to develop, the forces interested in retirement benefits, medical care and housing for older persons, etc., have a built in advantage, as youth don't vote. Although it may be a decade or more before these conflicts surface, they could be severe in New York. It seems important that education at all levels be seen as a *civic* responsibility, not just a parental one. By 1997, the oldest Baby Boomers will be 51 years old, and will probably be seeking their own self-interest. They have had precious few children so far, and will not be overly interested in youth issues. Groups like the Association for Generational Equity are being formed to reduce these conflicts, but New York could have some major problems in meeting generational needs.

5. An increasing number of children will be born "at risk" in New York. Virtually every urban area in New York is "at risk," as jobs are now following bedrooms in moving to the suburbs. As a result, urban economies will be severely limited even as the number of urban "at risk" children increases. In addition, the lower level jobs of the service economy—fast food counters, clerks, cashiers, hotel maids, janitors—will continue to concentrate in the core cities, bringing wage levels down even further. The most vulnerable children will increasingly be located in the most economically vulnerable parts of New York. Although tax equalization plans have not generally been successful, the state may want to consider some new strategies that will provide more equity in the investment made in every child.

6. The State also will face an increasing number of

children in the first four years of life who, because of working single parents, out of wedlock births and similar factors, will be in need of positive educational experiences in these years. Although the State has done well in this area before, the pressure for pre-school and school-age day care may obscure the urgent need for Head Start-type programs that provide vital *educational* experiences for young children. These "investments" in young children will have proved themselves when the retention rate to high school graduation goes up 14 years later. (One can only hope that politicians will wait that long for educational changes to "show positive.") A hopeful sign is the large increase in state funding for public schools in 1987–88, up $653 million.

7. Although New York has led in many areas of inter-sector collaboration, it is time to reassess the particular ways in which higher education and schools, both public and independent, can work together more effectively. Running these activities *only* through the schools of education is to leave arts and sciences entirely out of discussions about the schools, even though arts and sciences faculty teach most of the courses in schools of education on "The Teaching of English," etc.

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NEW YORK—
SUMMARY OF MAJOR POINTS

1. New York is a very *urban* state—90% live in the state's 12 metro areas.
2. Almost all the metro areas in the State have a common trend—a major decline in core city populations caused by a movement to the suburbs, not just of bedrooms but now of jobs as well.
3. New York's economy has proven to be very well diversified, with particular strengths in the high end of the service economy, such as financial and technical services.
4. New York is the quintessential Baby Boom state, with a very small youth population (from 1970 to 1980, the state's total population declined 4%, while school populations declined *21.8%*) and a comparatively small but rapidly growing population over 65. The Baby Boomers, now age 23 to 41, may have to vote on some tough "triage" issues—resources for youth, for elderly, or for Baby Boomers preparing for retirement. Intergenerational conflicts could become a major problem in New York in about a decade.
5. The State is very high in college graduates, and *also* high in adults without a high school diploma. As the "middle" of the job structure continues to decline, the state could become a place where rich and poor people live, but not the middle class. The educational system should operate to reduce this gap, not to increase it.
6. There is a vast difference between the chances of young people graduating from high school (very low) and the chances that high school graduates will be able to attend college (very high). The justifiable pride with which New Yorkers view their system of public and independent higher education needs to be altered to get a new view of the entire educational system, kindergarten through graduate school.
7. Although minority middle-class populations are a New York tradition, minority college-going rates are mixed-mostly increases, however. Asian-Americans are increasingly represented at the upper end of the range. College teachers of tomorrow in New York will be even more white and Asian, and even less Hispanic and black.
8. The State is still completing its majority role in the immigration wave of the 1920's from Europe, while it is also heavily involved in today's 14 million immigrants, 83% of whom are from South America and Asia, even though the Statue of Liberty still beckons toward Europe. The new immigrants represent an even more complex array of cultures and languages than did the 1920's, which brought in a younger version of what was already here. Today is *not* "the twenties all over again."
9. The parts of the New York educational system do not mesh as well as they might. The Regential tradition of keeping politics separate from educational policymaking seems to be in some decline. New Yorkers are used to getting quality services for their high taxes, and it may be time to look strategically at how the investment in education could yield a greater return. Two weak points are retention levels to high school graduation, and early childhood programs.